# The Suffragist

FIVE CENTS

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 4, 1915


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*Drawn by Nina E. Allender*

**Fairy Godmother Wilson: "The pumpkin shall be a coach; the mice will be the horses to pull it; and YOU shall go to the polls!"**

Vol. III DECEMBER 4, 1915 No. 49

# The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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# Notes of the Week

## Administration Urges Increased Income Tax

THE administration view of the condition of the Treasury and the need for additional revenue were set forth in a statement made public recently by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo. The statement shows that at the present rate of income and expenditure the Treasury, at the end of the next fiscal year, will face a deficit of $112,806,394.22, even if the present war revenue tax law, which expires December 31, and the present duty of one cent a pound on sugar, which automatically ceases on May 1, 1916, are continued.

To meet this deficiency, of which Secretary McAdoo estimates $93,800,000 as new expenditures for the administration national defense plan, he recommends lowering the exemption and increasing the rates under the income tax law; lowering the limit of incomes which must pay a surtax; and additional taxes on gasoline, oil, automobile engines and similar products.

The same administration which levied a federal income tax upon women without their consent and refused to urge a federal enfranchisement at their request now proposes to increase that tax without first ascertaining their wishes on the subject.

## Illinois Women May Help Name President

THE right of Illinois women to vote for delegates to the national conventions of the several parties, a point which has been at issue in the interpretation of the existing election laws, may be determined at the special session of the Illinois Legislature, which was called on November 9 by Governor Edward F. Dunne.

Governor Dunne's proclamation provides for consideration of the primary election act.

Under the existing statute women in Illinois may vote for all elective officers not named in the Constitution. This would allow them to cast ballots at presidential primaries for convention delegates. Anti-suffrage adherents claim convention delegates should be elected by the Congressional convention, at which women have no representation.

## "Suffrage Strike" in Newark

A COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED in Newark, N. J., is arranging a pageant to boom the city on its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary next spring. Ninety-eight men and two women constitute the committee. Some one decided that as the work would have to be done largely by the women, some of them had better be on the committee. But the reliable women workers in the city are largely suffragists.

Th telephone buzzes thus:

"No, I can't do it. I am sorry. I'd do anything in reason to oblige you, but I was remanded, on October 19, by the men of Newark to the home, and I'm in it—not to be seduced from it by any civic work. I'm learning my place."

"No, I can't do it. I am sorry. I had hoped to take part in it, but I've got to devote my spare time for the next five years to suffrage. When that is won, I'll be able to help in other civic matters."

"No, I can't do it. I'm spending all my time, since October 19, looking for a husband to take me out of public life and enable me to stay in a home."

"What? Me celebrate the birthday of Newark? No, I can't pour out my energy in celebration of the fact that Newark is a very backward city."

"No, I'll do anything to get Newark out of the clutches of the saloon, the Vice Trust, the bosses, and snobbism, but I can't waste my time exploiting her shame!"

The suffragists as a body are willing to have a parade of their own during the celebration, but they are not to be invited, or even allowed, it seems, lest they do something "out of taste." They are willing to collect the money and repeat the Washington Anthony Pageant.

"But they might have a woman in chains," shudder the anti forces.

So the deadlock continues.

## Three Men Disfranchised in New Jersey

THREE men, citizens of Newark, New Jersey, charged with larceny, were fined, placed on probation and ordered disfranchised November 26, by Judge Marshall in Mercer Court, of that city. The men were Louis Chapman, Reginald Williams, and James Smith. The first two were charged with grand larceny and were fined $25 and costs each. Smith had two charges of petit larceny against him. He was fined $100 and costs.

## Bond Issue in Alabama

IT HAS been definitely decided that the question of a bond issue in the state of Alabama will be put before the voters in the near future, and it is believed the election will be in favor of it.

That there is much dependent on the bond issue cannot be denied. As is known, the state is owing hundreds of thousands of dollars to the teachers, old soldiers, public institutions and for the feeding of prisoners. The bond issue of $1,500,000 will be used in the payment of these obligations and in the payment of old debts. Without the bond issue, the state must either defer the payment of money due the teachers, old soldiers and public institutions, or else defer the cancellation of the outstanding warrants, consisting chiefly of the floating indebtedness.

The interest which will be paid the holders of the bonds will be raised by taxation among the residents of the state.

The women of Alabama had no share in piling up the indebtedness, they are not asked their opinion of this way of paying it, but they will not be exempt from the increased taxation which it entails.

## Women Enroll for War

MISS FRANCES WHITAKER BAKER, president of the children's auxiliary of the Woman's National Made in U. S. A. League and daughter of Representative J. Thompson Baker, of Wildwood, N. J., was the first American to inscribe her name on the national service register, which has just been opened by the woman's section of the Navy League. Miss Baker, who is a licensed chauffeur, volunteered in that capacity in the event of war. She was quickly followed by her sisters, the Misses Katherine and Mary Baker, who also volunteered as chauffeurs in case of war.

The woman's section of the Navy League hopes to organize and register a vast army of volunteer workers, who would be willing to serve as the women of the belligerent countries are serving today in any capacity in which their country might need them.

## Women Workers in England Protest

WOMEN munition workers of England are being sweated, and their patriotism is being exploited to satisfy employers' greed, according to formal charges they have just filed with the labor board.

The women usually are not affiliated with regular trade unions, whose domain they have invaded, but, in this case, their charges coincide with the allegations of the laboring men. The English working women, like the men, persist in their efforts to get a hearing when the life of the nation is at stake, they say, because, although they declare themselves patriotic they cannot permit their patriotism to be exploited.

While the manufacturers grow rich out of government war contracts, the working women insist their wages remain unincreased while the cost of living is constantly ascending. The men charged this, too; and the women add that their employers are taking advantage of their inexperience to "sweat" them.

One advantage the women have is that government boards were appointed to investigate conditions under which they might be called upon to work. These boards have responded to the cry for help, and are, after investigation, bending the weight of their authority to the protests.

The complaints center largely in the Manchester district, where thousands of women are employed, and hundreds are being added weekly. It was found that many factories are installing lighter machinery for the women, but are not paying them men's wages, nor nearly so much.

The wages were found to vary from a maximum of about $5 for a forty-eight-hour week down to $2.50 for a fifty-one-hour week. Despite the minimum wage of 7 cents an hour fixed, many concerns paid less.

The women demand factory canteens so the women night workers may have a hot meal. A demand is also made for a shift schedule that will not permit a woman to work more than eight hours at a time.

Another protest was against heavy work being given to the women.

## Automobile Seats

At one dollar may be reserved at 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C., for the procession to welcome the women voters' envoys, December 6.

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# The Suffrage Referendum

## A Singular Privilege of American Women

### By Jennie C. Law Hardy

IT has always been a favorite assumption of those who held authority, that their powers were derived from, or bestowed by, supernatural agencies.

In ancient times the monarchs claimed the gods themselves as their ancestors; and consequently they were often worshipped themselves as gods. Naturally, therefore, every enactment or law partook of the nature and sanctity of a religious commandment, and whoever rebelled was doomed in advance to failure, for no mortal could hope to successfully oppose a god.

Blind, dumb scquiescence to all suffering caused by the governing powers was the only course, and resentment for wrong inflicted was no more felt by the victim, than for an act of Providence. Cyrus, king of Persia, put to death a faithful servan, and the son of the slain man remarked that "his father's life was the king's, to take or spare; and that he bore him no more ill-will than he did the immortal gods, who had taken his mother."

As the world advanced slowly, and more or less cumbrously, the sovereigns of the Christian era did not dare actually to claim divine descent for themselves, so they devised the formula "by the grace of God." They held their authority "by the grace of God," and were accountable to him alone. All land was theirs, and the lives of their subjects.

It was wicked and impious not to obey your liege lord, even if his commands were evil; and as a man was acknowledged the liege lord of a woman, any disobedience on her part was a direct violation of the law of God.

That a man was not only his wife's husband, but her lord and sovereign, is sufficiently proved by the fact that in the middle ages a man who killed his wife was merely punished for manslaughter, or murder at the most; but a woman who killed her husband was treated as a regicide, and punished for treason, and endured all the torture human ingenuity could devise.

When Shakespeare said: "Thy husband is thy king, thy lord, thy governor," he merely voiced the prevailing sentiment of the time.

That the old world countries, which still cling to the old laws and customs, should also retain them where women are concerned, is logical to a certain extent. But that the United States, which has thrown overboard all claims based on birth or divine right, should still apply them to women, and to women alone, is illogical.

In 1776 the new nation stood so far in advance of all other nations in its Declaration of Independence, that its provisions seemed blasphemous and sacriligious to the old world.

Yet today, where the enfranchisement of women is concerned, there is no constitution so hard to amend, or so rigid as that of the United States. And curiously enough the same constitution which is based on the assertion that all men are created free and equal, an assertion called impious by king and princes, is the most firmly entrenched against the claim that women, too, shall be included in this declaration.

The constitution is hedged around with so many safeguards that to adopt an amendment is a nearly superhuman effort; there is no danger of any "freak amendments" with a two-thirds majority required in the Senate and the House, and a three-fourths majority of all states, in its favor. Yet we are told we must work state by state, that we must win each individual state legislature, and then each individual voter.

Such a demand was not made for the enfranchisement of any class of men, and it is not made in any other country today for the enfranchisement of women.

In all other countries it is the governing body alone, call it by what name you like—Parliament, Reichstag, or Storthing—that has the power to bestow the franchise on its women citizens.

Alone in the world the so-called privileged American woman has to go to the man in the street for enfranchisement; it matters not if he speaks her language, or if he knows who is president, she has to plead with him.

In none of the countries of the English-speaking world is a two-thirds majority in Parliament necessary; for example, suffrage won in 1893 in the Senate of New Zealand by a majority of one.

And though there are legislatures in Australia which passed it nearly unanimously, it was in no instance necessary.

The chosen representatives of the people are supposed to represent the people, and to know what conditions are today.

The very men who framed the United States Constitution, who dared in an age of divine right and subservience to birth, to declare all men free and equal, would, if still living today, declare against the only divine right still existing, that of sex and male suffrage.

# Ratifying a Federal Amendment

### By Mary Ritter Beard

THE Constitution does not prescribe the time in which the states may ratify an amendment. Such a provision might have been regarded as an attempt to force the states into a ratification, whereas it was the desire of the convention that the action of the states should be deliberate and free from influence. New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, which it did on the 21st of June, 1788, nine months after its submission to the states. Rhode Island was the last state to ratify, which it did on May 29, 1790, two years and eight months after the submission of the Constituion. Virginia was the eleventh state to ratify the first ten amendments, thus securing the necessary three-fourths of the states. This was one year and eight months after the amendments had been proposed. The eleventh amendment was not ratified by the necessary number of states until three years and eight months after it was submitted. This was the longest time any amendment was pending before its ratification, with the exception of the Income Tax amendment.

The subject does not appear to have been considered by the constitutional convention, nor by either of the state conventions called to consider the ratification of the Constituion. When the fourteenth amendment was pending in the Senate, Senator Buckalew tried to secure the insertion of a provision "that the amendment should be passed upon by the legislature of each state at its first session next after its submission, and that no acceptance or rejection should be reconsidered or again brought in question by any subsequent session, nor shall any acceptance of the amendment be valid if made after three years from the passage of this resolution," but this was rejected by the Senate. It is therefore, an unsettled question how long a time the states have in which to ratify an amendject?

The following excerpt is taken from "The Constitution of the United States; its history, application and construction," by David K. Watson, of the Columbus, Ohio, bar. It was published in 1910:

"A constitutional amendment is now pending. Thirty-five states must ratify it before it can become a part of the Constitution. Suppose thirty-four states should ratify it within a reasonable time, but the thirty-fifth should not do so until the expiration of ten or fifteen years? Would this be a ratification within the meaning of the Constitution? Can the doctrine of reasonable time be applied in such a case? Who but the state can judge of what would be a reasonable time? It is for the state to ratify; and cannot the state take its own time to do it? What branch of the government can tell a state when it must ratify an amendment, in the absence of any constitutional provision of the subject?

"The underlying principle seems to be that where the result of a vote (on ratification in a state) is negative, it is the same as though no action had been taken. If it is affirmative, it exhausts the power under the right to vote and is final. Thus where a vote has once been taken with an affirmative result, the power under the act is exhausted, and the result cannot be rescinded by a subsequent vote; but until affirmative action is taken, the power to have another vote is not exhausted."

# Anti-Suffrage Deputation to Congressman

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS in Wilmington, Delaware, led by Mrs. Henry B. Thompson, state chairman of the Delaware Committee of Women Opposed to Suffrage, sent a deputation to Congressman Thomas W. Miller, of Delaware, urging him to oppose the suffrage amendment in Congress.

The deputation secured very valuable publicity, Congressman Miller stating to the deputation that he was unable to grant their request. "I consider that it should be my duty as a national legislator," Mr. Miller said, "to vote for an enabling resolution which would place the question of woman suffrage before the several states for their rejection or ratification.

"A member of Congress," Mr. Miller said further, "in addition to representing his state or district through his voice or action in the national legislature at Washington, should, in my opinion, consider it his duty to act as a representative of the United States, or, in other words, the country at large. When you consider the fact that twelve states have already granted universal suffrage to women and twenty-two additional states have granted partial suffrage, it is plain to be seen that throughout the United States the question should be classed as a national issue. The question is undeniably a pressing one today, and the ice of public opinion has been broken through in no uncertain manner."

When asked if a petition signed by prominent men would influence him, Mr. Miller replied, "The only petition is a vote."

The deputation took place on November 27 in the rose room of the Hotel du Pont.


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## The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

### HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

**Drafted**

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

**First Introduced**

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

**Reported from Committee,**

**In the Senate,**

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

**In the House,**

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

**Voted Upon**

**In the Senate,**

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

**In the House,**

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

## The Opportunity Of the Coming Congress

"THE opportunity for the suffrage movement in the present Congress is wonderful," Congressman London, of New York, said recently.

Suffragists have not been slow to appreciate the opportunity and to grasp it.

The situation, indeed, is created for success.

A single party controls the Senate, the House, and the presidential office. Its responsibility for legislation is undivided.

This administration is facing a presidential election in which nearly four million enfranchised women will take part.

These women live in a section of the country where a belief in the right of women to control their own political affairs is as natural as breathing.

At the same time there is a great demand upon Congress, from all sections of the country, for action upon suffrage.

In the face of this demand, it is impossible for Congress to have no record at all on the suffrage issue; and a bad record means the alienation of many women voters who will put the question of the right of women to political freedom a long way ahead of the trivial and artificial differences that divide the political parties.

It is a losing game to oppose the submission of the suffrage amendment to the states. To permit its submission, on the other hand, is only an act of common fairness, and puts no one on record.

Congress does not enfranchise women. It only refers to the states an amendment proposing their enfranchisement. Under the constitution the states have the right to accept the amendment or reject it. Considering the overwhelming demand for woman suffrage throughout the entire nation, and its importance as a moral issue, it is the duty of Congress to submit the amendment to the states for consideration, whether the Congressmen believe in woman suffrage or not.

If the present administration were entrenched in public favor and their popularity steadily on the increase, they could afford to neglect one issue on which they were espousing the unpopular side.

But as a matter of fact, the Democratic Party has been losing its hold on public good will ever since 1913. Its majority in the House was reduced in 1914 from 161 to 33. In the Senate it has the small majority of 16. The elections of 1915 showed an increase in Republican strength in Massachusetts, and, most notably of all ,in New Jersey, the President's own state. The Democratic Party cannot afford to offend any large section of the electorate at the present time.

While the strength of the Democratic Party is ebbing, the strength of the suffrage movement is gaining by leaps and bounds. The woman's vote in the west is solidifying in favor of the federal suffrage amendment. In the east the state campaigns brought out a tremendous vote for suffrage; and while suffrage did not carry in any of these states, it showed a strength of organization which could give any Congressman a hard fight for reelection. The suffrage forces are active, aggressive and intelligent, and in the national field would be very powerful.

It is a great asset of the suffrage movement, moreover, that it is a joyous and good-tempered movement. It has no affiliations with any party and cherishes no grudge against any party. Suffragists will give any party in the country the fullest opportunity to win a noble record on the issue of woman's enfranchisement, and will cherish a warm and ungrudging gratitude for the political organization which will place the national suffrage amendment before the state legislatures.

In opposing woman suffrage there is everything to lose and nothing to gain. Women are facing the coming Congress with the clear hope of seeing Susan B. Anthony's amendment referred to the state legislatures by the Congress of the United States.

## A New Friend

THE *New York Times*, that bulwark of suffrage opposition, is turning an anxious eye upon Washington, and is beginning to urge women, as a friend, not to press their cause in Congress.

Last summer the *Times* appealed to us to be "merciful" and "patriotic," and not interfere with the course of federal business when Congress is considering great questions "touching the interests of the women as well as of the men!"

On November 28 the appeal takes on a reproving tone. "From the first there has been something unreal, theatrical, impetuous, extravagant about this amendment 'crusade.'" Then the editorial heart softens. "The most sagacious, the great majority, of the suffragists, do not depend on Washington; a few may have turned thither in pique or too quick disappointment after election day; but the mass of them, undiscouraged, and proud of the impression made on the electorate, are content to keep pegging away in the states. There, and only there, are their field and opportunity."

It is a terrible fate—one which I am sure no suffragist really deserves—to fall under the approval of the *New York Times*.

Women who have allowed their suffrage activities to be bounded entirely by the local field may well take alarm at finding themselves the object of the *Times'* benevolent praise.

# From Boston to New York

**The Women Voters' Envoys in Hartford, Connecticut**

BOSTON gave a rousing welcome to Sara Bard Field, the messenger of the enfranchised women of the West, who is carrying to Congress the demand of women voters for the political freedom of women throughout the United States.

Mrs. Field, with Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Marie Kindberg and Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt, preceded by a large band and accompanied by a brave escort of Massachusetts women, marched to the state capitol.

"Great throngs gathered in front of the Capitol," Mrs. Field writes, "and went with us into the rotunda where we met Governor Walsh.

"While the Governor didn't sign the petition, he offered to give us a letter of endorsement to the movement, commending the envoys to the hospitality of the nation.

"I shall never forget the effect of this demonstration upon the women present. One woman with tears in her eyes said to me, 'This is the first time Boston women have come out in great numbers for the federal amendment; I believe this morning marks a new era in suffrage, as far as Boston women are concerned.'

"After we left Governor Walsh, we proceded at once to the Municipal Building, where we were received by the representative of the Mayor. Here again crowds pressed into the Executive Chamber to hear more of this national movement for suffrage. The Mayor's representative and Councilman George Coleman headed a page of the petition with their signatures."

IN PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island, Governor Beeckman had, himself, issued invitations for the reception to the envoys. Mrs. Agnes Jenks, president of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association, had charge of the day's arrangements, which were simple and very effective. The reception at the Capitol was attended by a great number of people, who listened earnestly to the Governor's warm words approving the suffrage amendment to the Constitution. Congressman O'Shaunessy reaffirmed his readiness to vote for the amendment and work for it faithfully.

At Providence, the little car, which now registered nearly 5,000 miles of hard travel, was put on the boat and with its occupants brought to New York City.

FIFTH AVENUE "rubbed its eyes," in the words of the *New York Sun,* when the weatherbeaten automobile, bearing the slogan, "On to Congress!" followed by a hundred other cars, blazed a path of purple and gold down the great thoroughfare.

"I thought the suffragists were dead and buried," said the driver of a sight-seeing car to the man behind him, "and here they are again!"

The long line of automobiles was beautifully decorated with gold and white chrysanthemums, tied with purple ribbons; golden balloons floated from the cars.

In the first two automobiles were the wives of the city officials as the guard of honor—Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. William Prendergast, Mrs. Henry Bruere, Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, and Mrs. George McAneny.

After them, with Miss Kindstedt at the wheel, came the cross-country car, grimy and battered and laden with luggage. Across the front were the words, "On to Congress!"—and covering the back was a big travel-worn banner which said, "We demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, enfranchising women."

The long file of cars lined up at Sherry's, where a meeting was held in the great ball room, courteously loaned by the management for the great occasion. The room was packed before the speaking began.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who was chairman of the Woman Voters' Convention at the Panama-Pacific Exposition last September—the convention which elected Mrs. Field and Miss Jolliffe to carry its message to Congress—now welcomed them as chairman of the meeting in her own state of New York.

"WE MEET in New York," Mrs. Belmont said, "the home of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the state that has been described as the battleground for the rights of women.

"We are reminded that the first woman's rights convention ever held in the world was called in this state in the town of Seneca Falls in 1848. And we have also in mind its action on November 2 when it blocked the law of evolution by defeating the woman suffrage amendment.

"Here it was that Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and other associates sowed the seeds for a united womanhood in those pioneer days.

"Their efforts are now bearing fruit in the magnificent task assumed by that splendid group of woman voters in the West who have pledged themselves to use the great power at their command to open the door of political liberty to all the women of America.

"It was my privilege and pleasure to be in San Francisco in September where I had the honor to act as chairman of the first woman's political convention in the world's history. And it was the most thrilling experience of my life to participate in the exercises held in the beautiful Court of Abundance on the Exposition grounds, when a vast multitude of people assembled to bid God-speed to the envoys bound for Washington whom we have met here today to welcome and congratulate. . . .

"I wish every person here could have attended that convention in San Francisco, one of the most inspiring and effective gatherings ever brought together in the history of the world. . . .

"I wish you could have heard the speeches made by those great women! (And I am convinced they are all great women in the West!)

"They know they hold the balance of power. They understand the value of the ballot in securing reforms. They are convinced that what has proved a good thing for them will be equally beneficial to us. They have faith in womanhood, though men tell us to the contrary. They believe in cooperation. They hold steadfastly to the principles of a broader democracy. And they have made definite plans for a vigorous campaign that will never cease until all the women of this country are free. A set of resolutions was drawn up, and the federal amendment for woman suffrage unanimously endorsed with great enthusiasm.

"It is this resolution and a monster petition that our envoys have brought with them from the Pacific Coast, and are carrying on to the President and Congress—the Chief Executive and that honorable body said to 'represent all the people of the United States.'

"Suffrage petitions have been submitted to Congress from time immemorial, but none that was backed by the strength of four million votes.

"And so we have every reason to rejoice. Surely these important documents will not be treated as merely 'a scrap of paper,' as on former occasions. We hope they will convince our so-called 'representatives' that, like the fighting nations of Europe, we intend to continue the struggle as long as they compel us to do so. And that we are determined to give no quarter until we, too, have secured 'a place in the sun.'

"To you envoys, I wish to say that, in the name of the Congressional Union, I gratefully acknowledge your noble service to the suffrage cause in bringing this message to us from the voting women of America; those staunch allies who have rallied to the support of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and who have adopted her familiar slogan: 'I know only woman and her disfranchised.'

"In receiving this glorious message which you have brought, we are encouraged to pin our faith to another famous declaration of our revered leader,

(*Continued on page* 11.)

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# First National Convention

WHEN the envoys from the women voters of the west reach Washington at noon on December 6, the opening day of the Sixty-fourth Congress, they will be given a welcome that should convince the western women that those of the east appreciate the new help that is coming to them, and are inspired by it to double their efforts to win enfranchisement quickly.

Two thousand women, including those who have gathered from all parts of the country as guests and delegates to the first national convention of the Congressional Union, will meet the envoys at the outskirts of the city, at Stanton Square, Fourth Street and Maryland Avenue. There they will form in dramatic procession, and escort the envoys to the capitol steps, where committees of both houses, headed by Senator Sutherland and Representative Mondell, will receive them. Then on to the White House to the President's reception in the east room.

MRS. MARY AUSTIN, who has just so successfully staged the Pageant of Fire in California, has come to Washington to arrange the dramatic effects of the procession. The note of triumph will be clearly struck, for the coming of aid from the women voters is but the beginning of women's great and lasting triumph. There will be many flying banners of the Union's colors, and there will be much music. Always music will announce the approach of the rejoicing women, for leading the procession there are to be two bands playing alternately.

First in the actual line will come twelve young girls, wearing the purple, white and gold of the Union.

They will walk holding hands across the road and striking the first note of gay color. Immediately behind them will come Mrs. John Jay White on horseback as marshal of a cavalry section, always the most striking feature of a parade. Twelve riders will follow her, acting as escort to the motor of the officers of the Union. Immediately behind that will come twelve more riders, carrying yellow banners emblazoned with purple victory wreaths and representing the twelve states in which women already have won victory. This cavalry brigade is escort for the motor of the envoys—the same motor which has carried them through desert and mountain regions, from coast to coast. It will be driven by Miss Kindberg and Miss Kindstedt, its owners and donators, who have contributed richly, beyond our praise, to the success of this trip of the envoys.

Just here the women's Liberty Bell, of which Mrs. Catharine Wentworth Ruschenberger is national custodian, will appear on its gaily decorated truck. This picturesque bell, which has played so prominent a part in the Pennsylvania campaign, has just returned to Philadelphia, and Mrs. Ruschenberger has generously permitted it to come again to Washington, for it was here that it started on its career. It will join the envoys at Philadelphia and go with them to Wilmington and Baltimore. After the procession the bell will be taken to the convention headquarters of the Union, the "Little White House," on Madison Place, and be hung in the charming old bowed doorway. It is the hope of the Unionists that it may stay there until a sort of test tap may be given it when the amendment goes through Congress. Rung it never can be until all American women are free.

After this in the line of march will come the three hundred distinguished guests who are to attend the President's reception. Thirty-seven of these guests will march in advance of the others, each bearing a blue banner with a single white star standing for an unenfranchised state. After these states, which follow the women voters in half humble, half hopeful fashion, will come the motor section of gaily decorated cars. To complete the line with a "thrilling note" there is to be another band of cavalry, and then the final band to let an echo linger as the women march on toward the Capitol.

One of the most dramatic moments, as Mrs. Austin has planned the parade, will be the mounting of the Capitol steps. A double line will form upon either side, and between them will be carried the petition rolled on huge spools. As they go up the steps this will be unrolled, and displayed in its full length and glory.

**Miss Frances Jolliffe**

**Messenger of Women Voters to Congress**

IT is here on the Capitol steps that the envoys are to ask for the privilege of speaking from the floor of the House. One envoy will address her appeal to Mr. Mondell, the other to Senator Sutherland, asking each of them to introduce the necessary petition in his House.

The idea of this innovation has been in the minds of the leaders for some time, but it is only recently that the precedents have been searched out, and found to be so many that there is really high hope that the appeal may be granted. The first person, not a member, to speak from the floor was the counsel for a contested election between Jackson and Wayne. There have been since then various speeches by counsel in cases of contested elections, contempt of House by reporters, or impeachment proceedings. At the memorial services for Lincoln and for Garfield the orators addressed the Houses from the floor. But these are less applicable to the women envoys than the cases of Kossuth, who was invited to speak because of his renowned services for liberty, or Parnell, who addressed the House on the Irish question. There has been no outsider speaking on the floor in Speaker Clark's term of office, but there seems no real reason why permission should not be given the women who have traveled so far to give greater weight to what the voice of enfranchised women is demanding—justice for all women.

The usual method of procedure is to have a member in response to a petition introduce a resolution asking the House to give its unanimous consent to hearing "the distinguished visitor." This is the method that will be employed by the envoys. If they are heard, the occasion promises to stir the minds and imaginations of the Congressmen as nothing else has, and will attract the attention of the whole nation.

AFTER this stirring day there is to be a breathing spell. The executive committee will meet in the evening, but during the next day there is no planned event until the reception by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont in the Little White House, where she will be assisted in receiving by Miss Margaret Wilson, daughter of President Wilson. Miss Kate Gordon, of New Orleans, has also consented to be one of the speakers and Miss Helen Todd, of California, will be the other. There will be music in the course of the evening, and all members and friends of the Congressional Union are invited.

On December 8, 9 and 10 there will be business sessions of the Congressional Union in the convention headquarters at 10 a. m. and at 2 p. m.; and on December 11 there will be a final session at 2 o'clock. A meeting of the National Advisory Council will be held on Wednesday evening; the officers of the state branches will meet on Thursday evening; the "Suffragist" chairmen on Friday evening, at 8 o'clock.

On Saturday evening, after the days of business meetings, the dinner to be given under the direction of Mrs. Richard Wainwright in the Little White House will come as a relaxation and relief. Miss Zona Gale is to be toastmistress, which means there will be much entertaining wit and gaiety. Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Massachusetts; Miss Janet Richard, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, of New York; and Mr. Frank P. Walsh, of Missouri, will be the other speakers.

On Sunday afternoon, the only day in Washington when a large hall is available for a public meeting, there will be a mass meeting in the Belasco Theater. At this time the envoys will tell for the first time publicly of their trip across the country and of the message that they bring out of the west. The other speakers will be Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Miss Maud Younger, Senator George Sutherland, and Representative Frank W. Mondell. The chairman of the meeting is to be Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, of Utah, who was chosen to cast the electoral vote of Utah in the presidential election of 1908. She acted as secretary of the Convention of Woman Voters at the Panama-Pacfic Exposition last September, and will fittingly greet the envoys on their arrival at the capital.

Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley is arranging a reception to the delegates and friends of the Union at convention headquarters on Sunday evening.

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*We Ask the Patronage of All Suffragists*

# of the Congressional Union

MONDAY evening, December 13, will see the performance of the great pageant of suffrage history as that is mirrored in the life of Susan B. Anthony.

The pageant, written and staged by Miss Hazel MacKaye, is in ten scenes, covering the life of Miss Anthony from her twenty-fifth year, when she began her long career as the champion of women by sheltering a homeless negro woman who was a fugitive slave, to her eightieth, when her birthday was celebrated with affectionate ceremony in the very building, now the Belasco Theater in which the rehearsals of the pageant are taking place.

**A Room in Cameron House, Convention Headquarters, on Madison Place, Lafayette Square, between Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street.**

One of the early scenes shows Miss Anthony's accidental meeting with Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a meeting destined to turn Miss Anthony's energies definitely in the direction where her great work was to lie. Later scenes show her embarked upon her career of striving for the enfranchisement of women. One of the most stirring of these is the famous "mob-convention" scene, which shows the disgraceful treatment given this brave pioneer by an audience of New York hoodlums, before the Civil War. Hooted at and pelted with unsavory missiles, she yet stands undaunted before the furious throng, after her companions have fled from the platform.

Martial music ushers in another scene when the soldiers and citizens rejoice together over the passage of the fifteenth amendment that enfranchises the negro. Silently Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton stand by, watching the shouting throng, their attitudes expressive of their sorrow and disappointment that the women who gave so freely of their best that the black man might be free are themselves left in political slavery:

Another most thrilling scene shows the growth of militancy in Miss Anthony's feeling and methods, when, having been refused permission to read the Women's Declaration of Independence at the Centennial Celebration in 1876, she quietly marches to the platform and presents the Women's Declaration to the chairman.

The spirit of the pageant culminates in the courtroom scene, when Susan B. Anthony is on trial for casting her vote, which she did on the ground that the fifteenth amendment protected all citizens in the exercise of the franchise. She is found guilty and fined one hundred dollars, and the dignity and determination with which she refuses to pay this unjust fine make this scene eloquent with protest against the political wrongs of women.

No curtain is to be used in the pageant. The changes of scene are to be veiled by changing lights, which constitute one of the unique and beautiful features of the pageant. Miss MacKaye, with Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest and Mrs. Caro G. Moore, has spent much time studying the costumes of the period represented, so that they may all be historically correct. Parasol frames, of shapes unknown today, have been made to order, and will be covered at the costume headquarters. Several dozen pairs of lace mitts are to be made.

Four hundred persons will take part in this interesting and vivid presentation of bygone times. Mrs. Florence Hays Hanson, who plays the part of Susan B. Anthony, is a woman of Miss Anthony's own type. She looks the part without any make-up, and during rehearsals her fellow-actors have been moved by her sympathetic rendering of Miss Anthony's words. Among the other principal participants are Mrs. Charlotte Stanley, who plays the part of Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Miss Catherine Reynolds McCormick, as Lucretia Mott; James R. Daly, as Wendell Phillips; Mrs. Margaret Hopkins Worrell, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer; Howard Treat, Daniel Anthony; Mrs. Ruth Pierson, Mrs. Daniel Anthony; Miss Leanora de Grange, Hannah Anthony; Miss Marguerite Pierson, Mary Anthony; Prof. E. C. Townsend, the Quaker elder; J. B. Peat, Judge Hunt; Bennett Mead, clerk of the court; Frederick M. Kerby, Richard Henry Lee; Harry Meyer, a country boy, and Watson Ahlenfeld, Farmer Marsh.

## New Members of the Advisory Council

MISS MARY A BURNHAM of Philadelphia, vice-president of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise Society, and president of the Philadelphia League for Good Government, has recently joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. Miss Burnham is one of the most influential supporters of woman suffrage in her state.

Other women who have recently widened and strengthened the representative character of the Advisory Council are Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner of San Francisco, formerly president of the California Civic League; Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas of Charleston, who is president of the Charleston Century Club, president of the Charleston Tuesday Club, and vice-president of the Charleston Suffrage League; Dr. Marian Walker Williams of Phoenix. Arizona; Mrs. Henry Bruere, wife of the director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City; and Miss Maud Younger, of San Francisco, who is prominently connected with the national labor movement.

## Suffrage First

"MISS ALICE PAUL," says the New York *Times* (November 30), "chairman of the Congressional Union, which at the last election opposed all the Democratic candidates for the House, whether suffragists or not, on the theory that the party in power must be held responsible for the defeat of the woman suffrage constitutional amendment, defends that course in a statement from which it is enough to quote this curious opinion:

"'We believe that there is at present before the country no more important issue than the enfranchisement of women.'

"This just as Congress is about to meet, and the vital matter of national preparedness, grave international questions, inescapable questions of revenue and commerce are to be discussed; when abroad and at home the thought and energy of Americans are engaged by problems of prime necessity to national well-being and self-preservation.

"The sense of proportion of the federal suffragists is all askew. They injure their cause by seeking to foinst upon Congress and the country a change now and for long impossible in the form of a federal amendment. They injure woman suffrage, even in the several states where it is properly to be granted or withheld, by vociferation about a subject which in the press of ineluctable duties springing from the war is for the moment secondary, and even negligible. . . ."

The *Times* really does put its finger on a vital point.

The essence of the situation today is that women believe there is no more important issue before the country than the enfranchisement of their sex. They believe that no other questions should be dealt with by Congress until women are justly represented in Congress and can help to solve these questions.

They believe that the more important the question is, the more urgent it is that women should be enfranchised, lest these problems be solved in a manner which does not meet their approval or affects their deepest interests adversely.

Believing this, they regard the enfranchisement of women as the first duty of the incoming Congress; and when its history is over they will judge its usefulness to the nation primarily by its record on the suffrage question.

That is a basic fact of the suffrage movement, and one which every citizen, interested in seeing the problems of the nation expeditiously solved must, if he has a sense for fact at all, take seriously into account.

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# Suffrage Deputations to

WHEN asked by a deputation of the women of Waco, Texas, whether or not he believes in woman suffrage, Mr. Henry, chairman of the Rules Committee, said he preferred not to go into the merits of the case, for his office as chairman of the Rules Committee placed him in a position where he had to be careful not to express his opinions as an individual.

"I am a trustee for the Democratic Party, as chairman of the Rules Committee," Mr. Henry said, "and sometimes I might say things in my individual capacity that I should not say as chairman of this committee. . . . You ladies can understand that I might express myself as an individual in a way that might not meet the approval of my party; and they might call a caucus and say to me, 'You are the agent and representative of your party, and as such you have no right to bring this matter up while you are chairman of the Committee on Rules.'

"And again, the President might call me to a conference and inquire into my remarks—and as a party leader I might find that I might have to cooperate with him temporarily on this question. As an individual, therefore, I would rather not discuss the merits of this amendment from any standpoint. . . .

"It is true that as chairman of the Committee on Rules there is a certain amount of power connected with the office—a vast amount, as head of that committee; more sometimes than I have cared for. I have sometimes wished that I had someone to decide for me. But . . . I have never avoided the discussion of any public question nor evaded any official responsibility. . . .

"For forty years your organization has gone to Congress and asked that the matter be given attention . . . and it came up at the last Congress. It so happened that as chairman of the Committee on Rules I had the privilege of casting a deciding vote in that committee—(it being four "for" and four "against")—in favor of taking the matter of the amendment to the House and allowing full argument on the floor of the House for consideration and discussion. That was the first vote you ever had in the House of Representatives on the question. I was glad to do that because of the importance of the question.

"You will recall that your amendment fell a little short of the majority in the House. You will recall that at that time I spoke at length on the question and voted on it—voted against it. I may have been wrong, but that does not mean that I might always be that way. I am always ready to study a question and there are always conversions.

"I would not care to say that there should be no other amendments to the Constitution. I voted for the income tax amendment; and my friends were kind enough to say that I carried the vote for the direct election of Senators.

"We have now two other important amendments pending before the American people; one the suffrage amendment and the other the amendment providing for national prohibition. By the way, I think that Mr. Webb, of North Carolina, voted for national prohibition but against suffrage. I do not see how a man can vote for one of these amendments and against the other.

"I have never known the women of the country to take hold of any question where they did not feel that they were right on it, and I commend you for the interest and the efforts that you are displaying in this cause. At the same time I do not agree with some of them. I wish I could, on all questions; but of course there are two sides to it. As a matter of right, perhaps, it would do to submit this question to the states—that is, as a matter of the rights of individuals under the Constitution; but as a matter of policy it might not be the right thing to do. There are a great many matters that are right theoretically that as matters of policy I would not commend.

"You might submit this question and there might be proposed any number of other amendments." (Mrs. Thompson stated that all suffrage parties had centered on this one amendment.) "I do not mean on suffrage," Mr. Henry went on. "I mean amendments of all kinds."

Apart from the "mights" and "mays" of Mr. Henry's speech, his description of the function of the Rules Committee as an agency for controlling Congress in the interest of the policy decided upon by the party as a whole, interested Mr. Henry's hearers greatly.

The speeches made to Mr. Henry were extremely clear, pointed and able. Mrs. Edward Rotan, presiding officer, introduced Mrs. Arch Gamel, president of the Daughters of the Confederacy, who spoke on the southern woman's need of the ballot; Mrs. A. T. Godshaw, member of the Council of Jewish Women, whose subject was the "Political Duties of Mothers," and Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, who discussed the terms of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"Women, believing in states' rights out of sentiment," Mrs. Gamel said, "have worked state by state; but the hard fight in the Texas legislature has shown the women of Texas that the difficulties of state work are almost insurmountable. . . . Southern women have turned to the federal amendment as the surest and best means of obtaining suffrage quickly. . . .

"The states ratified the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments proposing the income tax and the direct election of Senators, and there was the same howl in Congress about states' rights before these two amendments were passed. . . .

"As southern women, believing that questions concerning women and children are national questions, we urge you to work and vote in the Sixty-fourth Congress for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"We know, Mr. Henry, that you are one of the most influential men in the House of Representatives; we are proud to claim you for our Representative, and we believe that when you are convinced that the women of your district wish suffrage that you will stand by us."

Other members of the deputation, which was a very influential one, were Mrs. Pearl Lovelace, assistant superintendent of Baylor University; Mrs. G. M. Bodenheimer, secretary of the Jewish Council of Women; Mrs. T. A. Canfield, president of the Literary Club; Mrs. M. P. Baker, secretary of the Domestic Science Club; Mrs. A. H. Newman, president of the Art League; Mrs. J. W. Hale, president of the Woman's Club; Mrs. Tom McCullough, regent of the D. A. R.; Miss Kate Friend, editor of the Waco *Morning News;* Mrs. A. L. Fiser, a sister of Mr. Henry's; Mrs. R. L. Henry, wife of the Representative; Mrs. William Foster, secretary of the Current Events Club; Mrs. Nannie Webb Curtis, state president W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Walter Lacy, treasurer Domestic Science Club; Mrs. Fred Robinson ,editor of the woman's department, Waco *Times-Herald,* and a large number of other women prominent in Waco.

The meeting was held in the public library Saturday morning, November 20.

## Chairman Henry Receives Suffrage Deputation

CONGRESSMAN A. E. HUMPHREY met some of the most prominent women members of his district in the Washington Annex Hotel, Seattle, on November 15. The deputation of women wished to call upon the Congressman to ask him to redouble his efforts in the coming Congress to the end that the Susan B. Anthony amendment for national woman suffrage be submitted to the states for their consideration.

The deputation was led by Mrs. H. W. Lung, president of the Seattle Federated Clubs. The speakers were Mrs. James R. Charter, of Seattle, Miss Virginia Arnold, of Washington, D. C., and Dr. Ella Stone, of Seattle. Dr. Stone is a woman of large political power in her city, having managed the Progressive campaign.

Congressman Humphrey said he was greatly honored at being visited, and recalled his favorable vote in the last Congress, assuring the delegation that he was for woman suffrage, not in a perfunctory way, but in a real substantial way. Referring to the states' rights arguments that Miss Arnold had touched upon, he said, "Miss Arnold is quite right; the Democratic party does lay aside the states' rights slogan when it has anything to gain by doing so. I have never noticed," he added, "that states' rights has played any important part when the Democratic party wanted to get at the United States treasury.

"There never was nor can be any valid argument against the right of women to have the ballot. I will do all in my power to further the cause of the federal amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress."

# United States Congressmen

THE first suffrage meeting in Comanche, Texas, was held on Wednesday, November 24, following a deputation to Representative Oscar Callaway, of the twelfth congressional district.

Mr. Callaway told the deputation who met him in one of the rooms of the courthouse that he was unalterably opposed to woman suffrage. "I am for the preservation of this government as a republic," said Mr. Callaway. "People think that the country is safe, but I know that it is not. . . . I have no fears from the outside. It will be destroyed from within. . . . The weak place in this country is the ignorance of the electorate. . . . The things that women engage in do not bring them into contact with the public, and women cannot be as intelligent as men in public affairs. . . . Their mode of life is different, and they have physical impediments. . . . Allowing women to vote would weaken the electorate when it is already at the breaking point. . . . The matter of right does not appeal to me at all. It is the future of the republic that appeals to me."

This was the gist of Mr. Callaway's remarks, which lasted over an hour.

Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, who helped to arrange the deputation, Mr. Callaway called "a paid agitator." "She says she's from Washington," continued the Representative from Comanche, "but I've never seen her there." Mrs. Thompson made no answer to these criticisms; but Mrs. George Curlee, wife of the pastor of the Baptist Church, said, "Are you not a paid representative, Mr. Callaway?"

The chairman of the deputation, Mrs. Charles Ory, presided very ably. The chief speaker was Mrs. S. W. Godbold, who made a strong argument in favor of women's right to vote.

Other members of the deputation were Mrs. Paris Smith, Mrs. J. D. Waring, Miss Estelle Reese, Mrs. T. I. Collins, Mrs. W. W. Kilpatrick, Mrs. George Curlee, Mrs. S. J. Hicks, and Mrs. N. J. Armstrong, all of Comanche.

After the interview the members of the deputation urged Mrs. Thompson to speak at a meeting in the courthouse the same evening. Mrs. Thompson promised to do so, if the local people organized the meeting. This they promptly did, getting out and distributing handbills at their own expense; and an excellent meeting, the first in the history of Comanche, was held, at which Mr. J. P. Kearby, one of the best-known lawyers in town, presided.

Mr. Callaway's frank expression of his opinions, therefore, had a valuable effect upon the community and will probably yield to the wishes of his constituency, since Mr. Callaway can hardly realize the ignorance of the electorate so clearly without recognizing that he himself, as a member of the electorate, must share this ignorance in regard to some of the questions facing the country.

**Deputation to Congressman Callaway**

"TURN your guns on President Wilson. He is the real center of power," said Senator Gronna, of North Dakota, to a group of women who waited upon him in Lakota, on Monday, November 22.

Thanksgiving preparations were in full swing; and the housewives of Lakota were busy. But they dropped their work to see Senator Gronna at half past ten in the morning, to discuss with him the problem of securing political freedom for women.

Mrs. R. H. Beek, wife of one of Lakota's most prominent physicians; and Mrs. W. C. Hagler and Mrs. R. D. Swengel, both well-known suffragists of the state, were the speakers. They expressed to Senator Gronna their very deep interest in the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Mrs. Hagler spoke especially of the fact that a federal amendment, when once passed, is passed forever; and is before the states until they ratify it. "If we fail in our own state," she said, "we have to begin all over again, but this is not so with the federal amendment. We think the national amendment a great saving in every way. We are heartily in favor of it."

Mrs. Swengel told the Senator that the women of North Dakota were asking him to do all in his power to bring this amendment to a favorable vote in the coming Congress. "Kindly take this message to Senator McCumber also, that we are surprised and greatly disappointed to know that he did not vote for the amendment in the last Congress. If he wishes to represent the people of North Dakota, he must advocate the cause of the women as well as that of the men. We shall look to him to give his hearty support to the Susan B. Anthony amendment next year. When we are voters a few years hence, we hope we may recall that Senator McCumber helped us in the winter of 1915."

"If I should make a speech for woman suffrage, such as I should like to," Senator Gronna said in reply, "I would keep you here all day.

"Since its infancy this state has been blazing the way for reform. It is made up of people who are not afraid of work—people who will live close to nature and recognize natural facts. I believe that this state will soon have woman suffrage.

"The only reason, in my judgment, that it failed last year was that woman suffrage forces lacked funds, while the forces opposed were financed liberally by the whiskey dealers, the trusts and the corrupt big business interests.

"Some people say that the Germans are opposed to woman suffrage. I would like to correct that impression. There are many Germans who are heartily in favor of it.

"When I was in the state legislature here years ago, I opposed woman suffrage, but the reason for doing so, that I then believed in, I do not believe in now.

"There is indeed a great deal to be said on this subject. The right to participate in one's government is a fundamental right. All other laws are based on this.

"The fact is that the Constitution of the United States does not now exclude women from voting. The trouble is that the courts construe it to exclude them.

"I wish to thank you ladies and Miss Arnold for coming so far to talk of this matter. You can depend on me not only to vote, but to work for this amendment whenever the opportunity offers itself. I shall be glad to hear from any of you at any time.

"I wish I could be as sure of the success of this amendment in the coming Congress as Miss Arnold. But not only the Democrats—the Republicans also become states' rights people the minute they think that the woman suffrage amendment is likely to pass and so interfere with the millions they get through corrupt practices.

"But if you really want this amendment put through, turn your guns on President Wilson. If President Wilson is in earnest in his assertion that he believes in woman suffrage, he can have this amendment passed. There was never a President whose messages to Congress were so absolutely heeded by his party as are President Wilson's. Everything he has advocated in his messages—with the one exception of the Ship Purchase Bill, which we Republicans killed by filibustering—has been considered in caucus, reported favorably and passed. If President Wilson is really in favor of woman suffrage he can have the amendment passed."

IN HETTINGER, North Dakota, Congressman P. D. Norton met thirty women—a large delegation for so small a town—and told them they could depend upon him to do all he could for the federal suffrage amendment.

"When I arrived in Hettinger," Miss Arnold writes, "I was told that there were only three members of any suffrage organization in the town.

"Notwithstanding the wintry wind, which in the absence of trees has its own way as it sweeps across the bare country, I started out to call at the different houses. This was necessary because there are no daily papers in Hettinger.

"At the time set for the interview with Congressman Norton, a church supper was being held in the town; nevertheless over thirty women (instead of three) assembled at the Lakeview Hotel, where with real suffrage enthusiasm they donned purple, white and gold sashes and awaited their Congressman.

"Mrs. Dr. Johns, secretary of the Twentieth Century Club, the only local woman's organization, spoke for the deputation. Mrs. Johns is perhaps the foremost woman of the town; she came to Hettinger when there were only three houses there. She thanked Mr. Norton for his help in the last Congress, and asked him to work actively for it next year. 'As members of your district we wish to say,' said Mrs. Johns, 'that we are more interested in this amendment than in any other subject before Congress.

"'We understand that Senator McCumber has said there was no interest in this amendment in his state. Will you carry our message to him that there most decidedly is a deep interest in its immediate passage? If Senator McCumber wishes to represent the people of his state, the women as well as the men, he must vote for it in the coming Sixty-fourth Congress.'

"Congressman Norton then expressed himself as greatly pleased to meet the women of his home town who were so concerned for their own enfranchisement.

"'I have never been able to see any reason why women should not vote,' he said, 'and I certainly am anxious to represent in Congress the women as well as the men of my state. I shall vote and work for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. You ladies can depend on me to do all that I can for it.'"

# Work in Ohio for National Woman Suffrage

## By Alice M. Johnston, M.D.

IN OHIO the organized activities of the Congressional Union began on June 25, when, in response to calls sent over the state by Mrs. Julius F. Stone and Mrs. Harvey C. Garber, local members of the Advisory Council, a convention and luncheon were held at the Virginia Hotel in Columbus in honor of Miss Alice Paul and Miss Mabel Vernon. The invitations, one thousand in number, were signed by six leaders of women's organizations. Many of the most prominent women of the state were present at the conference and enthusiastically pledged their active cooperation in interviewing the state members of the National Congress. An executive committee, consisting of the two local members of the Advisory Council, was elected to secure officers for the Ohio Branch of the Congressional Union. Dr. Alice M. Johnston was elected press chairman, and Miss Ferol Sibley, cartoonist. A constitution was adopted.

On the day before this conference, June 24, under the leadership of Miss Mabel Vernon, the first state deputation took place. A representative body of women constituents visited Senator Warren G. Harding, who motored from his home in Marion to the Chittenden Hotel in Columbus to receive them. Among the number were Mrs. Frank Mills, wife of the governor of the state, and Mrs. Harding. Senator Harding maintained at this meeting that woman suffrage is a party issue and that it would be presumptuous for him to say what stand the Republican Party will take on the issue.

In the historic old mansion at 60 East Broad Street, formerly owned by Governor Medary, and directly opposite the Capitol Building, are located the headquarters of the Ohio Congressional Union. A large deputation of prominent women assembled in the spacious drawing room at 4 o'clock Thursday, October 7, to greet Congressman Clement Brumbaugh. Mr. Brumbaugh replied that in his opinion the question of woman suffrage should be restricted to the states. "President Wilson," said Mr. Brumbaugh, "has been to me in many things a monitor and guide; and I have thought it both wise and safe to follow him in this matter."

The next deputation took place on November 2 at Springfield, where a large representation of prominent women from the Seventh Congressional District assembled to thank Congressman Simeon D. Fess for his affirmative vote in the last Congress upon the amendment. Mrs. James M. Rector, of Columbus, arranged the delegation and presided at the meeting. Mrs. George S. Dial of the Woman's Club; Mrs. John G. Zimmerman of the City Federation of Clubs, and Miss Florence Kinney, spoke of the growing sentiment for suffrage. "Your movement is right," Dr. Fess said, in reply, "and I am here to assure you of my support. It is written in the times that it must pass; it cannot be thwarted, because it is built on the right lines."

**Mrs. Julius F. Stone**

**Ohio Member of the Advisory Council, with Her Children**

On the following day, November 3, a splendid delegation waited upon Congressman Overmyer, of Fremont, under the leadership of Mrs. Louis A. Dickinson of that city. Mr. Overmyer said in reply to thorough and able speeches, that he was a young man and a new member of Congress. "The leaders of my party," said Mr. Overmyer, "have spoken on this matter; and I shall have to be guided to some extent by those leaders. . . . I must confess that I never could see any reason for withholding suffrage from anyone on account of sex. Still, as I said, I must be guided to some extent by the leaders of my party."

THE envoys received a royal welcome from the state of Ohio. Deputations were arranged for them in Dayton, Marion, Columbus, Fremont, Toledo, and Cleveland. The elaborate ceremonies at Dayton were planned by Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Mrs. Valentine Winters, and Mrs. Oscar Davisson. At Marion Mrs. Charles Adler spoke for half an hour to assemble a crowd for the woman voter. Then Mrs. Sara Bard Field, standing on the court house steps before an audience of several hundred men and women, asked Senator Warren G. Harding and Congressman Key to vote for the amendment. Senator Harding said: "The way to secure suffrage is to create public opinion in favor of it. I do not think that suffrage will ever be secured in the United States until it is sponsored by some great political party. I want to say to you, ladies, that I think that you must secure consideration at the hands of some great or both great political parties.

"Here in Ohio your cause has been twice defeated. I should, as an official, be justified in opposing suffrage. But I can say to you that I do not know what I shall do. I want to do the right thing."

Congressman Key, when asked to speak, said: "I disagree with Senator Harding on a great many questions, but I do agree with him that suffrage should be a party issue. But I will say that I have an open mind as far as suffrage is concerned."

Congressman H. I. Emerson and Robert Crosser, of Cleveland, met the envoys at the Hollenden Hotel and told the visitors they are entirely in favor of the proposed amendment.

IT IS the purpose of the Ohio Congressional Union to send, before Congress convenes on the sixth of December, deputations to all legislators not previously interviewed. Mrs. Cyrus Mead, of Vandalia, is arranging delegations to Congressmen Longworth, Allen and Gard; Mrs. Harvey C. Garber to Congressman Ricketts; Dr .Alice M. Johnston to Congressman Mooney; Mrs. James Rector, Mrs. John McKee of Springfield, and Mrs. Fleek to Congressmen Russel and Ashbrook; Mrs. Julius F. Stone, senior member of the Advisory Council, assumes responsibility for all that remain. She is personally arranging a deputation to Gordon. Mrs. Maude Fowler of Berlin Heights, under her direction, is arranging a deputation to Mr. Williams, of Lorain; Mrs. B. B. Sawyer and Mrs. Frances, to Senator Pomerene and Congressman McCulloch at Canton; and Mrs. Harry Bradbury, to Congressman Switzer of the Tenth District.

MRS. B. B. Sawyer, of Columbus, made the preliminary arrangement for a number of deputations. Congressman Kearns, of Batavia, interviewed by his constituents, declared himself in favor of the federal suffrage amendment, and Congressmen Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, and Cooper, of Youngstown, endorse the amendment heartily.

A STRONG state organization has recently been formed. Mrs. Cyrus Mead, of Vandalia, is state chairman; Mrs. James Rector, Columbus, vice-chairman; Dr. Alice M. Johnston, secretary; Miss Lucile Atcherson, Columbus, treasurer; Mrs. Valentine Winters, Dayton, chairman of the finance committee; Miss Lucile Atcherson, chairman of the SUFFRAGIST; Mrs. Julius F. Stone and Mrs. Harvey C. Garber are the Ohio members of the National Advisory Council.

A number of Congressional district chairmen have been appointed; among them are Mrs. Arnold Green, of the Twentieth District, Cleveland, Dr. Elizabeth Cheatham, Marion, the Eighth District; Mrs. Valentine Winters, Dayton. The state will now be thoroughly organized. Ohio will become known as one of the most active of the states in its work for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

**Dr. Alice M. Johnston**

**Press Chairman, Ohio Congressional Union**

# Treasurer's Report

## Contributions toward $100,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

### List of Contributors from November 23 through November 29

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Lawrence Lewis | $100.00 |
| Mrs. W. E. Collins | 50.00 |
| Mrs. George Odell | 2.00 |
| M. E. D. | 1.00 |
| Mrs. Josephine K. Linton (collected) | 1.00 |
| Mrs. J. R. Kelton | 1.00 |
| Mrs. E. S. Lawton | 1.00 |
| Anonymous | 9.80 |
| Mrs. Katherine Woods | 36.00 |
| Miss Virginia Arnold | 2.00 |
| Dr. Mary Thompson | 1.00 |
| A Portland Friend | 8.00 |
| Miss Eleanor Brannan | 25.00 |
| Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr. | 25.00 |
| Mrs. A. F. Jennings | 2.00 |
| Miss Anna Constable | 30.00 |
| Mrs. Joel Spingarm | 50.00 |
| Miss Anne Martin | 26.00 |
| Mrs. G. L. Fielder | 1.00 |
| Mrs. Florence Morrill | .25 |
| Mrs. Glendower Evans | 25.00 |
| A Friend | 500.00 |
| Anonymous | 1.00 |
| Dr. Hayden | 25.00 |
| Miss Elizabeth M. Barnes | 1.00 |
| Miss Elizabeth Smith | 1.00 |
| A Friend | 10.00 |
| Mrs. Carl G. Barth | 10.00 |
| Miss Ellen Douglas Hoge | 5.00 |
| Miss Marion May | 50.00 |
| Miss Mabel Taylor | 5.00 |
| Anonymous | 500.00 |
| Collections | 17.13 |
| Membership fees | 44.54 |
| Sale of Tickets | 219.75 |
| Total | $ 2,528.47 |
| Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST | 86,431.79 |
| Total collected through November 29 | $88,960.26 |


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*(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscribers.)*

NOVEMBER 21 THROUGH NOVEMBER 27

| | |
|---|---|
| Miss Lucy Burns | 2 |
| Mrs. Emma P. Gray | 1 |
| Mrs. L. T. Gray | 6 |
| Mrs. Anna M. Arneil | 1 |
| Miss Elizabeth Smith | 1 |
| Mrs. F. K. H. Rector | 1 |
| Miss Anna Swenson | 1 |
| Miss Frances Frothingham | 2 |
| Miss Lucile Atcherson | 3 |
| Mrs. Vesta A. McKenney | 1 |
| Miss Emma F. Baxter | 1 |
| Miss Gertrude Crocker | 1 |
| Mrs. A. R. Colvin | 1 |
| Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt | 1 |
| Mrs. Dorothy L. Mead | 8 |
| Mrs. Julius F. Stone | 3 |
| Miss Isabella Mott | 5 |
| Miss Mattie B. Dugan | 2 |
| Miss Virginia J. Arnold | 1 |
| Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr. | 19 |
| Miss Grace Hillis | 7 |
| Miss Harriet Dulles | 1 |
| Miss Caroline Katzenstein | 1 |
| Mrs. Emily H. Bright | 1 |
| Mrs. E. C. Thompson | 1 |
| Mrs. J. Borden Estee | 1 |
| Mrs. H. M. Holton | 3 |
| Total | 76 |
| Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST | 1,693 |
| Total number of new subscribers secured by members through November 27 | 1,769 |


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# From Boston to New York

(*Continued from page 5*)

one which she adhered to through a long life of bitter experience, when laying the foundation for the success of the women of our time. And that: 'Failure is Impossible.'"

IN THE absence of the Mayor, Honorable George McAneny, borough president, gave a warm greeting to the envoys; and Congressman W. S. Bennett of the Twenty-third District, New York City, and Luther Mott, an "up-state" Congressman, representing the Thirty-second District, promised their loyal service to the national suffrage movement.

Mrs. Florence Kelley made an earnest and powerful speech.

"I do not know," Mrs. Kelley said, "whether anyone can conceive how happy I was to join this Union. The organization is a unity, and that is credential enough. We have no other organization formed on that basis. They are of the hopeful younger generation, who have not had in their marrow and their bones the heart-break of sixty-seven years of being baffled."

Miss Frances Jolliffe, who is an active Democrat, and who worked hard and successfully for Wilson in 1912, struck a high note in her brief address.

"There are nine million women in the United States who work for their living. Fifty per cent of these women earn less than six dollars a week. The factory girl and her enfranchisement is the paramount issue; and the women of the west are putting her above party issues—ahead of the President of the United States."

Mrs. Field closed the meeting—"a tired little woman," said the *Tribune*, "in a travel-worn brown suit, who stood in the glitter of Sherry's ballroom and held out a tired little brown hand."

"We want to help you, the voting women of the west," she pleaded. "Will you let us?"

The audience was moved to tears and action. Five thousand dollars was contributed at the request of Mrs. Jewett Minturn, one of New York's young matrons; $1,000 was given by Mrs. Belmont "to convert President Wilson to national woman suffrage." How the thousand dollars is to be used Mrs. Belmont did not say, but the conversion is to begin at once.

Mayor Mitchell telephoned to the meeting his regret that owing to illness he was not able to be present, but he received the envoys at his home, and added his name to the petition.

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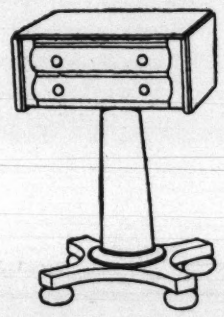

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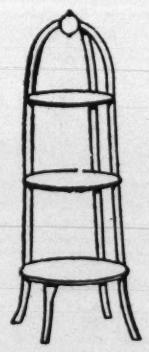

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